Southern Trends: Review of the Month

Tremors from the collapse of massive resistance in Virginia continued to spread over the South.

On the surface, one immediate effect on some Deep South politicians seemed to be a stiffening of resistance. But real feelings were perhaps disclosed by comments among Little Rock segregationists that "Virginia has let us down." The most lasting and important effect was a new spirit of confidence among the many people working all over the South to save their schools; they saw now that it could be done—and how it could be done.

In Virginia itself—with Norfolk, Arlington and Alexandria peacefully integrated, a Front Royal school boycotted by white students, and segregationists still calling for abandonment of public education—the Virginia Committee for Public Schools said "infighting has just begun."

Meantime, another state fell from the total segregation column when Florida's Dade County (Miami) School Board announced plans to admit four Negro children to a white school.

One of the most significant developments was the filing of several new NAACP school suits in North Carolina, where a pupil-placement law has kept integration to a bare minimum. This is important because it appears that the more foresighted segregationists in several states are retreating to a position of "containing" integration by pupil-placement laws; this has been the policy in North Carolina from the beginning.

In Alabama, years of hard work and pressure produced results when the Justice Department filed suit charging the Macon County (Tuskegee) vote registrars with discriminating against Negroes.

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 17, No. 3

March, 1959

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Atlanta Bus Ride

By CARL BRADEN
(SCEF Field Secretary)

Atlanta, Ga.—There was at least one compensation when Frank Wilkinson and I had to be here for trial in January because we had opposed the Un-American Committee.

It gave us the privilege of being on hand on the historic day when integration began on Atlanta city busses.

We had challenged the Un-American Committee for its attacks on integrationists, so we felt we should help speed integration on this occasion. Frank was unable to take part in the actual integration of a city bus, but he did help integrate a taxicab before he had to rush back to court.

The taxicab bore a sign, "For White Passengers Only," but Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker and four of us Caucasians piled in and rode without any protest from the driver. Bishop Tucker, a fellow Louisvillian who is one of my attorneys, is a leader in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

We were joined in integrating a city bus by another of my attorneys, Leonard B. Boudin of New York, and Jim Dombrowski, New Orleans, executive director of SCEF. This was the day after a mass meeting, led by Negro ministers, had called for a start on "courteous and natural" integration.

The four of us boarded the bus together. The others found seats while I got change from the driver and paid the fares. I watched the driver closely as Bishop Tucker sat down in the first seat in the bus, right next to the window.

The driver obviously saw Bishop Tucker sit down, but he gave no sign. He was apparently following instructions of company officials to "see nothing, say nothing, and hear nothing."

Many seats next to windows were occupied by Negroes sitting by themselves. Two or three white people were also sitting by themselves.

Leonard Boudin sat next to Bishop Tucker and I integrated the seat across the aisle from them. Jim Dombrowski occupied one end of the long seat behind the driver. This placed him close to Bishop Tucker.

A white man sitting on the other end of the long seat, just behind the driver, paid no attention. Neither did anyone else on the bus. You would have thought that Atlanta busses had been integrated for years.

We learned that in some sections of the city steps toward integration were a bit more cautious. In any case, Negro men took the advice of their leaders and did not sit next to white women. This policy was adopted to ease the shock for those white folk who still have the illusion that they are better than somebody else.

Anyhow, Atlanta made one more important step toward the future with little apparent pain.

Why the Walls Crumble in Virginia

Report From Arlington

by SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Arlington, Va.—No one should be surprised that the beginning of integration was peaceful at Stratford Junior High here.

Our school board came up with a plan to desegregate in 1955 but was prevented from doing so by the state's massive resistance. The people here have been ready.

The four Negroes who entered Stratford already knew many of their white classmates. Interested groups in the community had arranged for them to meet at social gatherings before the opening day.

The delay and the difficulties since 1955 have lined the lawyers' pockets with taxpayers' money. On the other hand, the prolonged struggle may have had some good effects too. Perhaps it helped to smooth the way in places like Norfolk.

It also presented the necessity for more white people to take a firm stand. Church groups have become more active on the issue. I think this helped the Negro community and strengthened their spirit. They know now that many whites consider their case entirely proper and just.

Except for rabid segregationists, I think all of Arlington was proud of February 2. Perhaps the greatest inner joy belonged to Mrs. Esther Cooper, who was president of the NAACP when the first suit to admit a Negro student to an all-white Arlington high school was filed in 1946.

That suit was lost, but Mrs. Cooper continued to work. The NAACP was not so strong then as it is now, and there were few to help. As president from 1940 to 1951, she struggled to keep it alive. When her husband died, she had to decide whether to go back to work or to try to live on her pension and rent rooms so she could have more time to work for integration. She chose the latter course.

For the past two years she has been less active; now there are younger hands to carry on. But on February 2, 1959, she said she felt she had made the right choice.

(Continued on Page 3)

Report From Norfolk

By JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
(SCEF Executive Director)

Norfolk, Va.—I was in front of Norview High School the morning Virginia's massive resistance crumbled before the determination of Negro children.

It was below freezing that morning of February 2, and a brisk north wind was blowing. The weather was in our favor. Only a large crowd of students was to be seen in front of the school at 8:30 a.m.

There appeared to be 800 to 1,000 all looking as cheerful and natural as was possible under existing weather conditions.

There were very few adults in evidence, and only four or five policemen. I had read that the entire force had been alerted; no doubt plain-clothes men were on hand, but certainly they were not conspicuous.

I drove up with Mrs. Ethel Clyde and the Rev. William B. Abbot, white pastor of Oakdale Presbyterian Church in the Norview area. Mr. Abbot had been working for months to pave the way for peaceful integration.

The day before, he had asked one of the Negro leaders if they would like for him to escort one or two of the Negro children. His offer was turned down.

"We want the children to behave just as normally as possible," was the answer. That was the key, and it worked.

Soon after we got there, a Negro pupil arrived. She got out of a car, which drove away.

Seven of the 17 Negroes admitted to Norfolk schools were to register at Norview High. They came singly or in pairs. Their parents deposited them and departed. No one paid the Negro students any special attention except reporters and photographers.

This unsensational scene was duplicated at five other Norfolk schools where Negroes entered. Inside the schools, students reported later, there was widespread coolness toward the Negro students, but on the other hand some white students went out of their way to show them to classes.

(Continued on Page 3.)

Arlington Pupil Replies

The Arlington Defenders of State Sovereignty sent letters to junior high school students urging them to boycott the integrated school. The campaign flopped completely.

The thinking of the youngsters may be indicated by a reply one boy wrote on his own initiative. His mother was so proud of the letter, she sent it to the Washington Post. He said in part:

"You say that the Constitution says nothing about public schools, but it does say that all men are created equal . . . Adolf Hitler was in favor of the so-called 'Master Race.' . . . I will be at Stratford on Feb. 2 and will be there as long as my wonderful school stays open."

Youth March Set

The Youth March for Integrated Schools will be held in Washington on Saturday, April 18. A petition campaign is being conducted in advance of the march. Committee in charge is at 312 W. 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.

—Photo Courtesy of Houston Informer

HISTORIC MOMENT comes to Houston as Mrs. Charles E. White is sworn in as first Negro member of the city's School Board. Mrs. White, second from left, is flanked by other board members, Dr. W. W. Kemmerer and Mrs. H. W. Cullen, as Supt. John W. McFarland conducts the ceremony. Negroes and liberal white citizens joined forces to elect Mrs. White.

A Southern Profile

Shuttlesworth Lives by Faith

By Staff Correspondent

(This is one of a series of articles on outstanding integration leaders. The name of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth is widely heard, but few people know about the man himself.)

Birmingham, Ala. — The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth has learned the secret of trust and the power of faith. He believes completely that he is on God's side and that God is on his side in the struggle for human rights.

This faith has carried him through bombings, near-bombings, jailings, severe beatings, injuries to his family, and threats to his life and theirs. It has made him one of the most cussed and discussed men in the integration movement in America.

F. L. Shuttlesworth

He is cussed by men like Eugene "Bull" Connor, police commissioner of Birmingham, which is without a doubt the city with the worst race relations in North America. He is discussed by people all over the world who keep up with the struggle for equal rights in the South.

Militant folk like the way Mr. Shuttlesworth operates. Others say he wants to move too fast; some don't approve of his methods. But all agree that he is unmatched for sheer courage in the face of danger. In fact, his self-forgetful devotion to the cause of human rights seems to give him a contempt of danger.

The leader of Birmingham's bus protest and its civil rights struggle will be 37 years old on March 18. He has spent his whole life in Alabama and he is a prod-

(Continued on Page 4)

The Southern Patriot

The Southern Patriot is published monthly except July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., dedicated to ending segregation and discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin. Editorial offices, 4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville 11, Ky.; business offices, Suite 404, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.; office of publication, 150 Tenth Ave. North, Nashville, Tenn. Twenty-five cents a copy, $2 a year. Entered as second-class mail matter, Nashville, Tennessee.

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VOL. 17. No. 3 MARCH, 1959

How It's Done

The Christian Social Relations Department of the Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches is conducting a sticker campaign in support of its efforts for equal job opportunities. People are asked to attach to bill payments the following statement:

"As your customer, I welcome being served by any qualified person, regardless of race, creed or color."

A similar technique was used effectively by the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations in northern Virginia and other groups in the Washington area in attempting to break down discrimination in hiring in Washington department stores.

Stamps saying "We believe in merit hiring" were affixed to bill payments. This along with other efforts by an Employment Committee in Washington paid off; at least three large department stores have improved their hiring practices by employing Negroes as sales clerk or in other "customer relations" positions.

The sticker idea is being applied to efforts against housing segregation by a group in Southern California, the Women for Legislative Action. They have printed stickers, to be used on every kind of mail, saying: "Integrated Neighborhoods—Democracy in Action!" It's a small thing, writes Irmgard Lenel, one of the group's legislative chairmen, but every little bit helps.

In below-zero weather this winter, ministers and other citizens maintained a constant picket line at Kansas City stores which refuse to serve Negroes in their restaurants and tea rooms. The effort was led by the Committee for Social Action organized by ministers and women in both Kansas Cities. The group began picketing after store owners refused to hear their grievances. As winter broke, the merchants also thawed and agreed to negotiate.

A cultural event provided an opportunity for relaxed communication between the races in St. Petersburg, Fla., when an arts group presented its quarterly musical program with some performers Negro, some white. The audience was also interracial. "The best part," reports Tom Dreier, St. Petersburg editor and writer, "was the talks we had when we went into the other room for coffee and cake."

(The Patriot welcomes reader-contributions to this column.)

'Wall Between' Is Runner-Up

"The Wall Between," a book on race relations by Anne Braden, was one of four leading contenders for the 1959 National Book Award in the non-fiction category.

Books were nominated for the award by members of the American Book Publishers Council, American Booksellers Association, and Book Manufacturers' Institute.

Mrs. Braden is a field secretary and editor for SCEF. The book can be bought from SCEF for $5. Publisher is Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y.

Book Notes

THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE, by GORDON W. ALLPORT, Doubleday (Anchor), New York, $1.45.

This is a new paperback edition of a book first published in 1954 which is already considered a classic in the field of psychology.

The author, a noted Harvard psychology professor, traces and analyzes scientifically the roots of ethnic prejudice. It is important reading for all who seek to combat such prejudice on a practical level.

The new edition is edited and shortened to make it more useful to lay readers.

The original book, of course, was written before the 1954 Supreme Court decision. In a foreword to the new edition, Allport says no subsequent events would lead him to alter his basic approach. He does make two interesting observations:

Noting his previously stated theory that in this country an integrated racial situation comes about most easily in response to a firmly enforced executive order, he reasons that it would have been psychologically sounder for the Supreme Court to have insisted on prompt compliance to its 1954 decision.

However, since the course of gradualism has been chosen, he cites his previous findings to indicate that it's best to start the integration process among the youngest school children.

BIGGER THAN LITTLE ROCK, by ROBERT B. BROWN, The Seabury Press, Greenwich, Conn., $3.50.

The Rt. Rev. Robert B. Brown is Episcopal bishop of Arkansas. In that capacity, he played a leading role in the efforts of the church to make its influence felt in the Little Rock school crisis of 1957. This book is his view of that crisis: what happened, why it happened, and the conflicting forces at work.

A number of books are undoubtedly yet to be written on Little Rock, and this is certainly not the definitive one. It is, however, a revealing study. It provides valuable insights into the varied thinking of different clergymen faced with a fact of social crisis, into the various approaches pursued, and the reasons why the church, like everyone else, seemed to fail so miserably in 1957 in Little Rock.

Bishop Brown also offers hope that the apparent failure may be temporary.

Bits of History

Southerner Stirs Garrison

By DON WEST

The early anti-slavery movement found no place in the United States more favorable than the great Appalachian Mountains of the South.

It was here that the first anti-slavery newspaper was published. It was here that Benjamin Lundy came later to edit his newspaper. It was from the anti-slavery sentiment of these mountains that William Lloyd Garrison learned to be an abolitionist.

Charles Osborn who, with Elihu Embree and John Rankin, had led in organizing the Tennessee Manumission Society in 1815, moved to Ohio to spread his gospel. There he published his anti-slavery **Philanthropist.** He met Lundy and solicited his aid in editorial duties.

Lundy had not previously been too concerned with abolitionist ideology. But by association with this anti-slavery Southerner he became a convinced abolitionist.

Beginning his own newspaper later in Tennessee, Lundy organized 127 abolitionist societies by 1827. Of this number, 106 were in the South and four fifths of the membership was in the same area, particularly in or near the Appalachian Mountains. This mountain region and nearby areas were considered better fields for anti-slavery work than either Ohio or New England.

This anti-slavery sentiment eventually spread to the North, including New England. On a trip to Boston, while speaking to a group of ministers, Lundy met William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison was not then an abolitionist, nor had he previously shown any evident concern.

This must have been even more true of the other members of the gathering to whom Lundy spoke. For eleven years later, after much experience in struggle himself, Garrison describes Lundy's reception in these words:

"He might as well have urged the stones in the street to cry out in behalf of the captives. O the moral cowardice, the chilling apathy, the criminal unbelief, the cruel skepticism that were revealed on that memorable occasion. Poor Lundy! That meeting was a damper on his feelings."

But Lundy had reached Garrison. Men like Embree, Osborn, John Rankin and Lundy lit the blaze and kept the anti-slavery fires alive against overwhelming odds.. They paved the way for the Garrisons who came later.

'Why I Believe in Integration . . .'

Texas Professor Deplores Waste of Talent

By PAUL F. BOLLER, JR.

(The author of this article, one of a series, is an associate professor of history at Southern Methodist University in Dallas.)

The Associated Press recently distributed a story about Willie Robert Porter of Houston.

Willie is a shy, studious Negro lad, a junior-high student, with a passion for science. He has delved into chemistry, astronomy, and electronics; his current fascination is with nuclear physics.

He asked for and received permission from the Atomic Energy Commission to use some uranium nitrate in an experiment for his science club. He is probably the only junior-high student in the nation today who has this privilege.

That the Associated Press regarded Willie's story as news is not surprising. What is remarkable, however, is that one of the segregationist papers in Texas found a prominent place on its front page for the story.

Apparently it did not occur to the editors that this news item was a brief and eloquent refutation of the hundreds of editorials they have written attacking integration. For does not common sense, as well as simple justice, rebel against the notion that Willie, because of the color of his skin, should be segregated?

There are thousands of Willies —and Margarets—in our nation. Some undoubtedly possess greater and some have lesser native ability than the Houston boy. That all of them should have opportunities for intellectual development equal to those of white youngsters is unarguable.

The struggle between merit and privilege is as old as the American Republic. Jefferson thought the battle against entrenched privilege, based on wealth and birth, must first be waged in the public schools—where "precious gifts" latent in the people could be developed.

Segregationists today seek to perpetuate unlegitimated privilege. Integrationists are eager to develop, in Jefferson's words, "worth and genius" in "every condition of life."

A "revolution of rising expectations" is sweeping the globe. Demands on the intellectual and spiritual resources of Americans become heavier with each passing day. Only at our peril can we squander the "precious gifts" of the Willies of this nation by maintaining a wasteful, unjust, and undemocratic system of segregated education.

Paul F. Boller, Jr.

Quotations To Remember

"This is Appomattox. Richmond has fallen." —**Arkansas Gazette editor Harry Ashmore,** commenting on defeat of segregation in Virginia.

"So, without anyone's intending it, the urbanization and industrialization of the South is pushing the Negro toward first-class citizenship."— **Southern Regional Council President James McBride Dabbs,** speaking in Richmond.

"The basic reason for the defeat of the anti-filibuster forces in the Senate does not lie in (Senator) Lyndon Johnson's agility. It lies in the indifference of Northern and Western white men to the Negro's struggle for equality."—**I. F. Stone, Washington journalist,** in his news letter.

"Tender age is involved here. These are mere children. They are in no sense criminals."—**Charlotte, N. C., Observer,** protesting North Carolina officials' handling of the cases of the two little Negro boys, Hanover Thompson, 10, and David Simpson, 8, who were jailed after they were kissed by a white girl.

"These signs are insulting to white students because they express the assumption that we object to Negroes and Negro patronage." —**Student at West Virginia Wesleyan,** Buckhannon, W. Va., in a letter to the student newspaper calling for protests against signs in Buckhannon business places saying "We serve white people only."

News in Brief

Widespread repercussions resulted when a Charleston, W. Va., hotel refused to accept Elgin Baylor, star basketball player with the Minneapolis Lakers, in town to play in a National Basketball Association game against Cincinnati.

The entire team walked out of the hotel; Baylor sat out the game; Minneapolis lost. The Lakers said they would henceforth demand a non-segregation clause in all game contracts. The N.B.A. said all clubs in the Association would do likewise.

The Charleston Gazette, although critical of Baylor's refusal to play, called for conciliation by the Ministerial Association or a mayor's commission to end hotel and restaurant discrimination. If that didn't work, the paper said, anti-discrimination legislation should be enacted.

* * * *

The Florida P.T.A. issued a plea that free public schools be maintained in that state. Spokesmen said the group was taking no position on integration but "found nothing important enough to close public schools."

* * * *

In Hoxie, Ark., the voters in a record turnout refused to remove two School Board members who were on the board when the town's schools were integrated in 1955. A recall election had been called on the petition of a segregationist currently on the School Board.

* * * *

At Athens, Ga., a spot poll of 200 University of Georgia students by the campus newspaper showed that 60 per cent of them prefer integration to closing the university. Only 30 per cent said they would rather have the school closed; 10 per cent expressed no opinion.

* * * *

The Washington, D. C. Newspaper Guild has called on the city's newspapers to drop racial designations from real estate ads.

* * * *

In Atlanta, P.T.A. polls conducted in 34 white schools showed them voting 18 to 15 to accept "limited" integration rather than close public schools. A total of 79 schools were asked to conduct the poll, but many of them said they felt it "unwise" at this time.

* * * *

The South Carolina Methodist Advocate recently devoted an entire issue to the importance of maintaining public schools.

* * * *

In Texas, 39 colleges now have both white and Negro students, the Dallas News reported. This includes some formerly Negro schools now taking white students. Thirteen other colleges reported integration policies but do not have mixed student bodies at this time.

Unionist Beaten

Decent public opinion has been outraged by the beating and arrest of Asbury Howard, 52-year-old vice-president of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, in Bessemer, Ala.

Howard and his son were summoned to court on a breach-of-peace charge because they erected a six-foot billboard depicting a chained Negro and urging Negroes to vote. As they left, 40 white men attacked them. The elder Howard suffered head wounds that required ten stitches.

Bessemer police headquarters are in the building where the attack occurred. The only arrests were Howard and his son, who were charged with disorderly conduct.

Protests should be directed to the Department of Justice, which has been asked by Alabama Negro leaders to investigate.

Two Boys Freed

Two little Negro boys jailed for kissing a little white girl have been freed as a result of nationwide and worldwide protests to officials of North Carolina. Further action was planned to make their release unconditional.

Nashville's 'Second Step'

By ANNA HOLDEN

(Reprinted from CORE-lator)

Nashville, Tenn. — With the spotlight on defiant Little Rock and Virginia, Nashville's "second step" toward school integration went almost unnoticed. According to Nashville's grade-a-year plan, the second grade became integrated last fall.

In line with city administration and school board policy, no news or pictures of Negroes registering were released locally. School and police officials were pledged to take action which would avert a repeat performance of last year's mob violence.

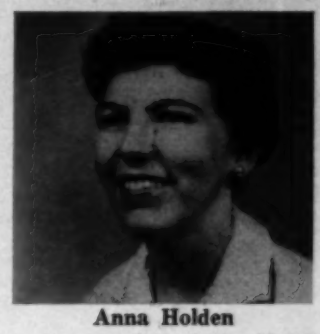
Last year, similar pledges had been made but this year, after a costly experience with an initial soft policy toward agitating segregationists, the city meant business.

Negro parents were skeptical, however, and were cautious regarding registering their children in the desegregated schools. On special registration day for first graders, only 15 Negro children registered for such schools.

Fifteen additional Negro children signed up on registration day for second graders. On the Monday when school opened, four more Negro children registered in formerly white schools, bringing the total to 34 out of an eligible 300.

CORE members and friends initiated a survey to locate eligible children in nine of the affected districts and later personally contacted parents of 215 of them in follow-up visits.

Participating in the survey were some of the parents who had enrolled their own children



Anna Holden

in desegregating schools—Mr. & Mrs. Hugh Watson, Mr. & Mrs. Levator Hodges, Mrs. Fred Dozier, etc.

A "Friendly Community Survey" cataloguing ages and grades gave us the required names and addresses of the parents.

Follow-up visits sounded out their feelings toward registration in the desegregating schools. Those interested were assured of support. Requests for escorts to registration and opening day were few, but parents making them were accommodated by CORE members and their friends.

I reported survey results and participated in panel discussions at orientation meetings — along with Robert McGhee, Lee Pennington and Florence Smith. One of these meetings, attended by John Frederick Kasper, the professional segregationist who spark-plugged last year's mob violence, was interrupted by a bomb scare.

The survey's statistics contributed confidence particularly in areas where the number of eligible Negro children proved greater than the school board's estimate. The figures gave courage to Negro parents fearful of being pioneers if they registered their children at a formerly white school.

For example, in a South Nashville school with no Negroes last year, four Negroes registered this year. The survey had shown that there were as many as 44 eligible Negro first and second graders in the district.

Anna Holden is research assistant in the Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, and is chairman of the Nashville group of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Her pamphlet "A First Step Toward School Integration" told the story of Nashville's first year of desegregation.

Reluctance to send more Negro children to integrating schools this year was found to stem from lack of confidence in public officials, hesitancy to send different-aged children to separate schools, baby-sitting problems of working parents, unwillingness to pioneer in a new situation and resistance to breaking established associations with Negro schools, teachers and school-related patterns.

Many Negro parents were found to be unaware of the new school zones and of the success of first grade integration during the last school year.

The total number of Negro children registered is only 34. But, considering the general pattern in the South and last year's mob violence in Nashville, CORE and other interested organizations feel gratified by the outcome of the "second step."

Arlington

(Continued from Page 1)

She had talked that day with Mrs. Carter Taylor, the mother of the Negro girl who filed the suit in 1946. She too was filled with happiness. The beginning of integration came about 13 years too late for her daughter—but it came.

Frank Bancroft Killed in Crash

Frank C. Bancroft, a member of the staff of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the 1940's, was killed in a plane crash in Kentucky recently. He was editor of The Southern Patriot from September, 1946, to June, 1947.

In recent years Mr. Bancroft had lived in New York City and worked as a medical writer. Friends have set up the Frank C. Bancroft Memorial Fund to aid interracial scholarship, teenage interracial work, and integration work in the South.

Ordeal in Atlanta

READY TO DO LEGAL BATTLE against the Un-American Committee's efforts to harass integrationists are Carl Braden, three of his lawyers, and two SCEF officials. They are on the steps of the Federal Building in Atlanta on their way to his recent trial. Braden, an SCEF field secretary, was charged with contempt for refusal to cooperate with the Committee. From left are SCEF President Aubrey Williams; the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, attorney and bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church; Leonard Boudin, New York, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Braden; John M. Coe, Pensacola, Fla., civil liberties attorney and president of the National Lawyers Guild, and SCEF Executive Director James A. Dombrowski. Not present but also representing Braden is Conrad Lynn, civil rights lawyer and NAACP leader in New York. In inset at top is Frank Wilkinson, prominent civil liberties leader, also tried for challenging the Un-Americans. Another important trial was going on in Atlanta at the same time—that of George Bright, one of the men accused of bombing a synagogue there. On the day after Braden and Wilkinson were convicted, Bright was acquitted.

Report From Norfolk

(Continued from Page 1)

In back of this successful occasion, of course, was a great deal of community conditioning. There had been statements from all kinds of groups, from ministers to Chamber of Commerce.

The work of students themselves was notable. On the day before school opened, members of the Key Club, honorary student leader organization, had placed an ad in the paper calling for order and "mature conduct." They were supported by a leading group of student athletes.

Norfolk citizens had learned in five months what it is like to be without schools. The magnitude of support for public education that had been building up, not only in Norfolk but in other parts of the state, was reflected the week before when Governor Almond abandoned the position of massive resistance.

Some felt the General Assembly would override him and vote to abandon public schools, but it didn't. For the first time since 1954, the total segregationists did not have the upper hand in the Assembly.

It should be noted, of course, that Almond has retreated only to a policy of "containment" — to keep integration as minimal as possible. The compulsory attendance law has been repealed, and tuition grants are to be made to students who won't go to integrated schools. There is a danger that a commission named to present a long-range program will come up with plans to virtually destroy public education. Much will depend on whether public support for public schools continues to grow and express itself.

The Richmond News Leader on February 2 issued a call to arms to the segregationists: "The battle that may appear to some men today to be ending is seen by us as a war that is barely beginning."

But the fact remains that a firm beachhead has been established in the Old Dominion. It happened basically because great numbers of Virginians care more about the education of their children than they do about the myths of white supremacy—and they made their voices heard.